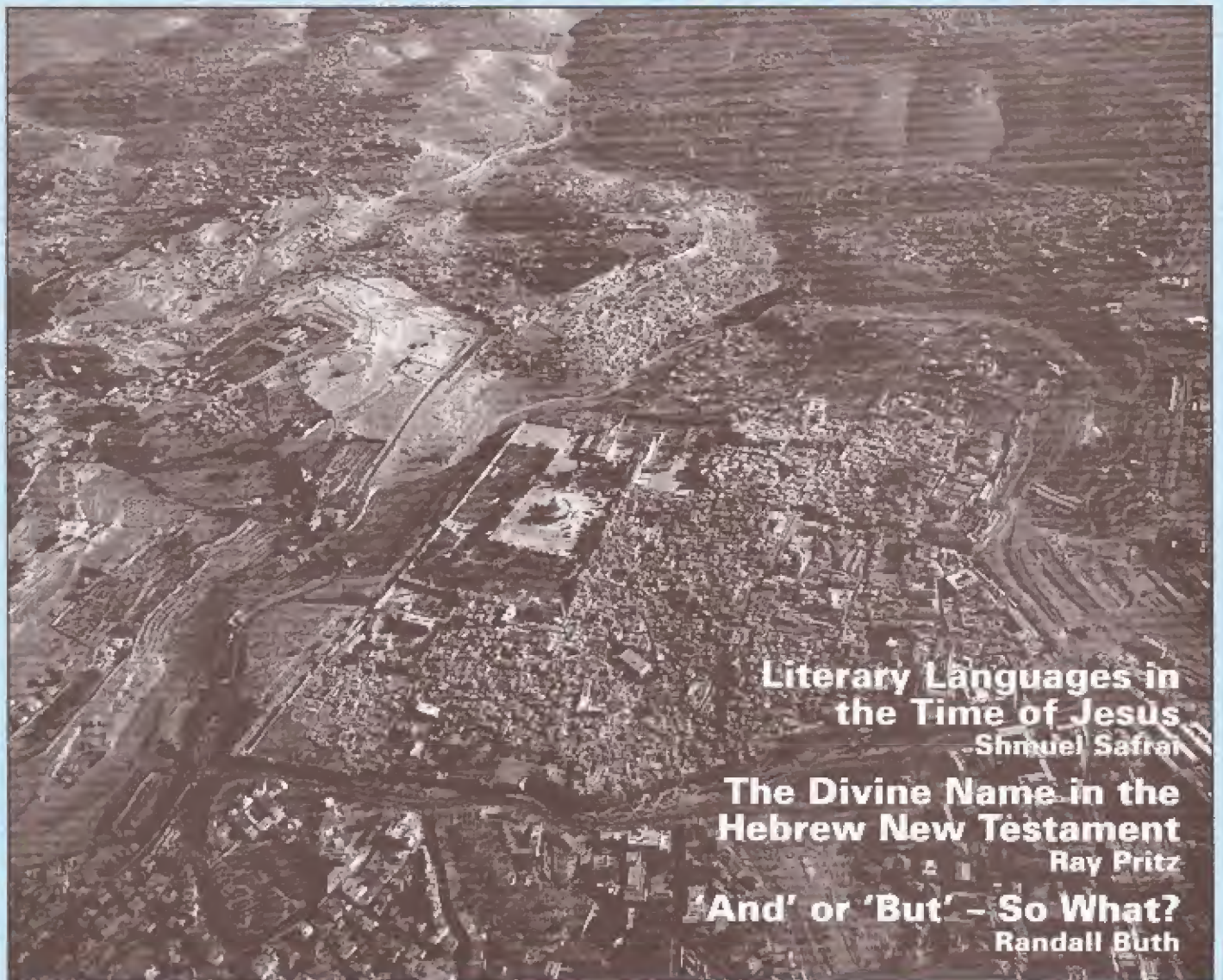מנקודת ראות ירושלמית

Jerusalem Perspective

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Readers' Perspective

The phrase "Call no man father, except your father in heaven," causes a lot of confusion. Many Christians criticize Catholics for calling their priests "Father," but Jews say "Our father Jacob" or "Our father Abraham." I feel we may have lost something in translation. What did Jesus mean?
– Jo Barefoot, Little Rock, Arkansas, U.S.A.

It has always been common for Jews to refer to their patriarchs, especially Abraham, as "our father Abraham" or "Abraham our father." This custom was especially common in the time of Jesus, and we find many examples in Jewish literature of the period: "our father Abraham" (Lk. 16:24, 30; John 8:53; Acts 7:2; Rom. 4:12), "our father Jacob" (John 4:12), "our father David" (Mk. 11:10; Acts 4:25), "Abraham our father" (Lk. 1:73; Rom. 4:1; James 2:21), "Isaac our father" (Rom. 9:10).

One should realize that the Hebrew word for "father" is also the word for "forefather" or "ancestor." So when a Hebrew speaker uses "our father Abraham" he is not using "father" as an honorific title but is referring to Abraham as an arch-ancestor of the nation. It is unlikely that Jesus intended to prohibit the use of "father" in this sense.

Abba, which literally means "the father" in Aramaic but also can mean "our father" or "my father," was brought into Hebrew and used in the endearing sense of "Daddy." It also became a personal name, as in the case of Barabbas, a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew or Aramaic *bar Abba*, son of Abba. *Abba* also came to be used to respectfully address a sage, a practice which Jesus opposed. This usage probably developed because of the special relationship in which the sage became like a father to his disciple (see "First Century Discipleship," *JP*, October 1988, p. 2). Later, apparently after the time of Jesus, *Abba* became common as a title for all sages. Linguistically, almost the same thing happened to the word *rabbi* (my teacher, my master), which was a polite form of address to a sage in the time of Jesus, and only later (toward the beginning of the second century A.D.) became a title.

In the passage you refer to, "Don't be called 'Rabbi,' for only one is your Teacher [*Rav*] ... Don't be called [lit. 'Don't let them call you'] 'Abba' on earth, for only one is your heavenly Father" (Mt. 23:8–9), "father" and "rabbi" are synonyms, and Jesus is opposed to their being used as titles of honor. Jesus' reasoning regarding "father" is clear — he is concerned that no one seem to usurp the heavenly Father's title. His intention is less obvious when it comes to "rabbi." However, the way *rav* is sometimes used in rabbinic sources shows that it also was one of God's titles at the time. For instance, note the

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Cover photo: Aerial view of the Old City of Jerusalem nestled between the Hinnom and Kidron Valleys.
(Courtesy of the Israel Government Press Office)

Literary Languages in the Time of Jesus

Not only was Hebrew the most prevalent spoken language in the land of Israel during the first century, it was also the language in which most literary works were written.

by Shmuel Safrai

Most Jewish literary activity in the first century C.E. did not take the form of written works, but rather consisted of oral compositions. This was the accepted literary mode of the Pharisees, as well as of Jesus and his early followers. The Sadducees and the Essenes may have written their Bible commentaries and halachah, but the more widely followed Pharisees generally did not. The few written works emanating from Pharisaic circles or groups close to them, such as *Megillat Ta'anit* (Scroll of Fasts) or apocryphal works such as IV Ezra (= II Esdras) or the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, were certainly a minority.

Teaching, both in large and small groups, was based on oral instruction and not on the reading of texts. Rabbinic sources describe instruction in the synagogue as oral. Synagogal literature such as prayers can be considered part of the literary activity of the time, and this genre likewise began as oral literature.

The documentation of this oral literature took place after the period under discussion here. The first stages of the editing of the Mishnah by Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, and apparently its final redaction as well, took place at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century C.E. In the first century C.E., the literary activity of the sages was oral and their literary creations were transmitted orally. Although it is probable that students sometimes took notes when their teacher taught (rabbinic sources only give evidence of this practice beginning in the second century C.E.), it is necessary to stress that the majority of teaching and study was oral.

In the first century conversations were conducted for the most part in Hebrew, Aramaic being used mainly in contacts with non-Jewish residents of the land. Literary activity, when it occurred, usually was undertaken in Hebrew, although there were exceptions. *Megillat Ta'anit*, composed at the end of the Second Temple period, was apparently written in Aramaic, and excerpts from this work in the Mishnah or other tannaic sources are for the most part in Aramaic.[1] It also is possible that Josephus wrote an early draft of one of his works, *The Jewish War*, in Aramaic.[2] These works were exceptions to the rule, and most, whether they have survived in independent book form or as parts of other works, were composed and transmitted in Hebrew.

Major Genres and Works

Rabbinic literature is divided into tannaic works, the teachings of the Tannaim or early sages until approximately 230 C.E., and amoraic works, the teachings of the later sages known as Amoraim. Tannaic literature, except for an occasional individual sentence, was collected and edited in Hebrew. Amoraic literature, however, was written both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

Some of the Aramaic statements in tannaic literature represent extremely early traditions. The earliest halachic material, found in Mishnah Eduyot and cited by Yose ben Yoezer, roughly a contemporary of the first Hasmoneans (170–160 B.C.E.), is in Aramaic.[3] Some of the aggadic statements of Hillel the Elder, who lived at the end of the first century B.C.E., are also in Aramaic.[4]

All of this, however, is quite minimal when compared to the vast amount of tannaic literature in Hebrew. There are fewer Aramaic sentences in tannaic literature than in the Bible, and although tannaic

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The last two columns (cols. XII and XIII) of the Qumran scroll of Pesher Habakkuk. Note the guidelines incised on the velum from which the scribe "hung" the letters of the text.
(Courtesy of the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum)

Halachic instruction is always in Hebrew. All sages, early and late, from the land of Israel or Babylonia, deliver their halachic teachings in Hebrew. During the amoraic period, discussions about halachah may have been in Aramaic, but the halachic statement itself was always in Hebrew.[7]

Prayers

The communal prayers we possess today took on their written form during the geonic period (seventh–eleventh centuries C.E.), and afterwards. However some of these originated much earlier, and early versions of many prayers were discovered in the Cairo Genizah. The Genizah text usually reflects a version composed in the land of Israel during the Byzantine period (fourth–seventh centuries C.E.). Most of these prayers are based on versions hundreds of years older, from the second century B.C.E. to the end of the tannaic period (230 C.E.). Both tannaic and amoraic literature contain communal prayers not found today in standard prayer books.[8]

In addition to the communal prayers in rabbinic literature, there also are a great many personal prayers uttered by sages at the conclusion of the public prayers or on other occasions. Most of these personal prayers are recorded in the name of a particular sage.[9] A few, however, are recorded in the name of an individual who did not number among the sages.[10]

All of the prayers recorded in rabbinic literature, without exception, are in Hebrew. Not one of the early prayers which have survived, whether in a prayer book, in a text discovered in the Cairo Genizah or in tannaic or amoraic literature, contains even a single word that is not Hebrew.[11] There are even statements from the amoraic period indicating that one should pray in Hebrew, since the angels of the Lord understand only that language and not Aramaic.[12] Thus, there is no justification for the attempts of certain scholars to reconstruct the Lord's Prayer in Aramaic.[13]

The halachah permits prayer in any language: "These may be said in any language … the reading of the Shema, the Eighteen Benedictions and the Grace after Meals..." (Mishnah, Sotah 7:1). Rabbinic literature

literature contains many individual words in Aramaic, as well as isolated Greek words, these are mostly names and technical terms. The Hebrew of the Tannaim is not biblical Hebrew. It is more prosaic, lucid and precise, and was clearly a living language. However, the earliest sayings in tannaic literature are written in a Hebrew which is similar to that of late biblical works such as Esther and Daniel.[5]

Much amoraic literature is written in Hebrew, although many discussions were recorded in Aramaic. However statements of Tannaim quoted in amoraic literature, whether early or late, are always in Hebrew. This holds true throughout all rabbinic literature, early and late, whether created in the land of Israel or in Babylonia. Until the end of the fifth century C.E., many literary genres, works and motifs were formulated and written completely in Hebrew. We will examine a number of these in the following sections.

Biblical Midrash

Midrash, homilies on biblical verses, is one of the more common literary genres of rabbinic literature. Such homilies, also known as דְּרָשׁוֹת (de·ra·SHOT), are cited in the names of sages both from the land of Israel and Babylonia, throughout the entire rabbinic period. Tens of thousands of homilies, both aggadic and halachic, are found in rabbinic literature, and almost all are in Hebrew. Not only the homilies themselves, but the technical terms accompanying them are in Hebrew.[6]

Amoraic literature often contains discussions about homilies. The discussion may be either partly or completely in Aramaic, but the homilies themselves and the technical terms associated with them are always in Hebrew.

also records occasions when the Torah was read, or the Shema was recited in Greek. However, there are no sources which mention prayers being composed in Greek, and all the information we have points to a strict adherence to the convention of using Hebrew.

Parables

The parable was one of the most common tools of rabbinic instruction from the second century B.C.E. until the close of the amoraic period at the end of the fifth century C.E. Thousands of parables have been preserved in complete or fragmentary form, and are found in all types of literary compositions of the rabbinic period, both halachic and aggadic, early and late. All of the parables are in Hebrew.

Amoraic literature often contains stories in Aramaic, and a parable may be woven into the story; however the parable itself is always in Hebrew.[14] There are instances of popular sayings in Aramaic,[15] but every single parable is in Hebrew.

Communications

An important phenomenon of ancient Jewish history was the existence of the diaspora in East and West. The central institutions in Jerusalem, and after 70 C.E. in Yavneh or in the various cities of the Galilee after the Bar Kochva Revolt, established relationships with these diaspora centers. Emissaries sent to various communities abroad helped cement the connections between Israel and the diaspora, and letters were also sent to Jewish communities abroad. Jewish literature attests to such letters from the Hasmonean period until the end of the amoraic era.[16]

Rabbinic literature has preserved many direct quotations from correspondence with the diaspora.[17] The text of these letters is almost always Hebrew, even when part of an Aramaic literary context. We do not know in which language Judas Maccabeus wrote to the Jews of Alexandria (II Maccabees 1:10 ff.), but most of the correspondence found in rabbinic literature from the Second Temple period onward is written in Hebrew.

Among the Oxyrhynchus papyri found in central Egypt and dating from about the third to fourth centuries C.E. were two circulars apparently sent to the Jewish community in Alexandria. It is difficult to determine whether they were sent by another community in Egypt or from a center in the land of Israel. It also is difficult to date them, but in any case, both are written in Hebrew.[18]

Dirges and Eulogies

Dirges and eulogies played an important role in the burial customs of first-century Israel. Mourners were brought to tears by women who specialized in arousing emotion. A husband, even a poor one, was required by halachah to provide at least one professional woman mourner for his wife's funeral.[19] These women recited their dirges in Aramaic. An Amora of the third century, Rabbi Yohanan of Beit Guvrin, discussed the proper use of various languages of his time and stated: "Hebrew for conversation, Aramaic for dirges" (Jerusalem Talmud, Megillah 71[b]; Esther Rabbah 4).

In addition to customary dirges, eulogies often were recited, particularly if the deceased had a reputation for exemplary behavior or had been a sage. Rabbinic sources have preserved a number of eulogies, most of which date to a period beyond the scope of our discussion, from the end of the second century C.E. and afterwards. There are more than two dozen earlier eulogies, however, such as those recited upon the death of Hillel near the beginning of the first century C.E., and other sages who died at the beginning of the second century.[20] With one exception, all of these eulogies are in Hebrew.[21]

There are no extant selections of early poetry or song. Those which are found in rabbinic literature date from the second century C.E. and following. They are, however, always written in Hebrew, even if found in an Aramaic framework.[22]

Prophecy & Heavenly Voices

Tannaic and amoraic literatures contain references to prophetic utterances which were heard by various sages or by high priests in the Holy of Holies in the Temple. Some sages heard them just before they died. They also were heard after the execution of Rabbi Akiva (circa 135 C.E.).

These utterances are set in early contexts such as the wars of the Hasmoneans, the period of Hillel the Elder, or the attempt to set up an idol in the Temple during the reign of the Roman Emperor Gaius Caligula (37–41 C.E.). A tannaic source relates: "When the latter prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, died, the Holy Spirit ceased speaking in Israel. Even so the people [of Israel] continued to be
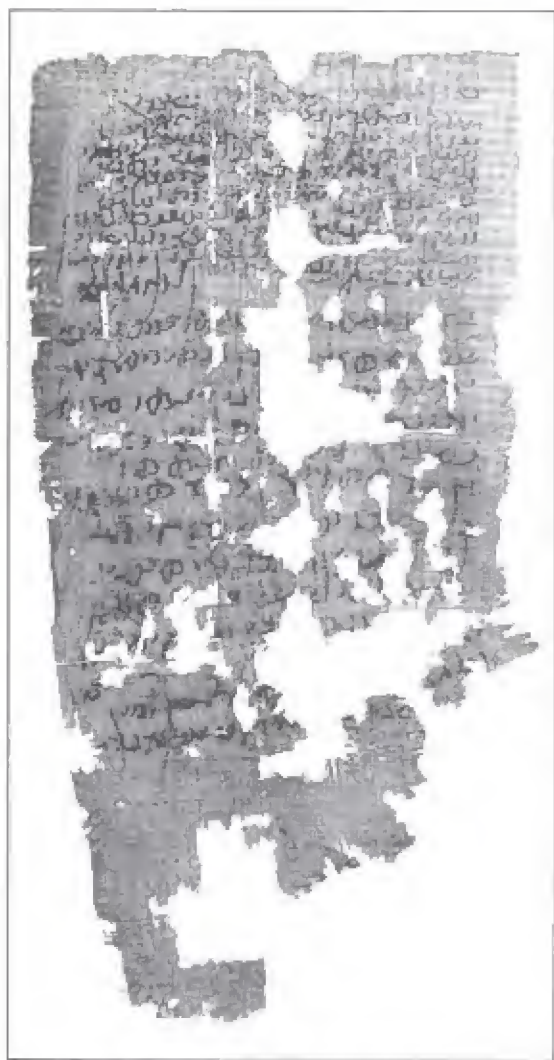
Bill of divorce in Aramaic from the year 72 C.E., in which one Joseph the son of Joseph divorces Mary the daughter of Jonathan. The text of this legal document is almost word for word the same as the traditional version used today.
(Courtesy of the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum)

informed by means of a פַּת קוֹל [*bat kol*, heavenly voice; lit. 'daughter of a voice']" (Tosefta, Sotah 13:3 and parallels). The source then lists a number of instances in which a heavenly voice spoke prophetically.

There are many references in tannaic and amoraic sources to heavenly voices, most of which are in Hebrew even when within an Aramaic context.[23] However a number of utterances are in Aramaic, including some of the early ones. For example, according to rabbinic tradition the heavenly voice heard by John Hyrcanus in the Temple in the last decade of the second century B.C.E. proclaiming that his sons who had gone to fight in Antioch were victorious, was in Aramaic.[24] The heavenly voice heard by a priest from the Holy of Holies which announced that Gaius Caligula had been murdered (41 C.E.) and that his decree ordering the erecting of his statue in the Temple had been abrogated, is also in Aramaic.[25] The rabbinic source even stresses that "he [an anachronistic reference to Shim'on the Righteous] heard it in the Aramaic language." Samuel ha-Katan's words (circa 115 C.E.) pertaining to the future troubles of Israel likewise is in Aramaic.[26] The sources note that "he said them in the Aramaic language."

The apparent reason for the heavenly voices being in Aramaic is the desire of certain sources to signal the general decline in the level of Israel's holiness, and to point out that the charismatics of later generations who merited such heavenly utterances were not on par with biblical prophets such as Moses or Isaiah. Only in the third to fourth centuries C.E., did the phenomenon of recording heavenly voices in Aramaic

come to an end. Then, like other important material such as halachah or prayer, heavenly voices were recorded in Hebrew.[27]

Legal Documents

It is likely that some of the legal documents that have survived in Aramaic date from the Persian period (fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E.) when administrative affairs in the land of Israel were conducted in Aramaic.[28] It needs to be remembered that Aramaic was the lingua franca of the Persian empire.

Bills of divorce were written in an Aramaic similar to the Imperial Aramaic in use at the end of the Persian period. The formula of the bill of divorce is quite ancient, and since it had to be expressed very precisely for both religious and legal reasons, much attention was paid to the language used in it. It is quite natural, then, that bills of divorce dating to the Second Temple period are all written in Aramaic. In that period, although the people spoke Hebrew, the Aramaic version of the bill of divorce was retained because its language had been so precisely worked out in the Persian period.

The כְּתֻבָּה (*ke·tu·BAH*, marriage document), however, was a later development, and sources which mention this document refer to versions in both Hebrew and Aramaic.[29]

Non-Rabbinic Literature

The general phenomena described above also apply to non-rabbinic literature of the period. Those works of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha which owe their survival to acceptance by this or that group within the church were originally written in the land of Israel or in the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora, or based upon works written there. Among the works written in the land of Israel are Ben Sira, I Maccabees and IV Ezra (= II Esdras). The Letter of Aristeas and II Maccabees were written in the diaspora. The works that originated in the land of Israel, at least those which survived in Greek translations or in translations based upon Greek, were originally written in Hebrew.

The fragments of Ben Sira (originally composed about 200 B.C.E.) which were discovered at Masada and Qumran, are in Hebrew. A large part of the book of Ben Sira was found in the Cairo Genizah; apparently reflecting the original version, it also is written in Hebrew.[30]

It is possible that some of these works of

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha had Aramaic versions, and in fact a number of verses from Ben Sira are cited in rabbinic sources in Aramaic, but the original Ben Sira clearly was composed in Hebrew.[31]

Because there is no extant Sadducean literature, it is difficult to determine in what language it may have been written. Rabbinic sources contain references to Sadducean compositions, but do not indicate in what language they were written. However, a great deal of the literature of the Essenes has been discovered since 1947, including works on halachah, hymns of praise, biblical commentaries and eschatology. Much of this literature has been published and still more remains to be published. Most, although apparently not all, of this vast and diverse literature was written in Hebrew: in addition to targumic fragments which logically would have been written in Aramaic, there are a few works such as a midrashic commentary on Genesis known as the Genesis Apocryphon, which were written in that language.[32]

Even if the Aramaic works discovered at Qumran were originally written in Aramaic, and even if they actually belong to the writings of the sect and are not compositions that found their way into the library of the Essenes by chance, they certainly represent a marked linguistic minority among the Essene works. The situation seems to be the same regarding the Qumran material which has not yet been published. The majority of these unpublished documents also seems to have been written in Hebrew.

Conclusion

Some scholars maintain that the demise of the Hebrew language beginning in the second century C.E. is evidence that in the time of Jesus the common language in Galilee, in contrast to Judea, was Aramaic. These scholars reason that there must be a connection between the seat of Jewish learning moving to Galilee after the Bar Kochva Revolt and the beginning of the decline of Hebrew at about the same time. The conclusion drawn is that the use of Hebrew could not be maintained in the dominantly Aramaic-speaking Galilee, so that later rabbinic works such as the Jerusalem Talmud were of necessity written in Aramaic.[33]

However, it cannot be proved that prior to 135 C.E. Aramaic was the dominant language in Galilee. The shift to Aramaic in rabbinic sources could have been the result of any of a number of other reasons. For example, because of the hardships experienced by Jewish residents in the wake of the Bar Kochva Revolt there was a massive emigration from the land of Israel, while at the same time there was a large immigration of Jews to the land from Babylonia. This could have changed the relative numbers of Hebrew and Aramaic speakers and caused the rise in the influence of Aramaic that resulted in the linguistic shift.

Hebrew was certainly the main written language in the land of Israel at the time of Jesus among all streams of Judaism and in all literary genres. Although documents apparently were written in Aramaic by Jews in this period, they are insignificant in number when compared with the vast literature written in Hebrew.

Hebrew was the dominant spoken and written language in the whole land of Israel in the time of Jesus.[34] It is therefore quite possible that not only did Jesus give his teaching in Hebrew, but that his biography was written in that language as well. **JP**

1. See M (= Mishnah) Ta'anit 2:8; JT (= Jerusalem Talmud) Ta'anit 66ª; BT (= Babylonian Talmud) Ta'anit 17ᵇ.

2. In the opening section of *The Jewish War* (1:3), Josephus relates that he originally wrote his work "in the tongue of my fathers" and sent it to the Jews living in the eastern lands. Although many scholars claim that the work was originally written in Aramaic, there is no proof that this was the case, and Josephus may have written in Hebrew. See J.M. Grintz, "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple," *JBL*, 79 (1960), 42–45.

3. M Eduyot 8:4.

4. M Avot 1:13; 2:6.

5. For example M Peah 2:2; M Bava Kamma 1:2. For a list of the early *halachot* in the Mishnah written in a Hebrew similar to that of biblical Hebrew, see J.N. Epstein, מבוא לנוסח המשנה (Jerusalem, 1948), II, pp. 1129–1133. For other early tannaic sayings, see BT Kiddushin 66ª; Sifre Numbers 22, to 6:2 (ed. Horovitz, p. 26).

6. Such technical terms as the following are Hebrew and not Aramaic: אָמְרָה תוֹרָה (*'am-RAH to-RAH*, the Torah states), בנין אב (*bin-YAN 'av*, general law derived from special cases), הֲרֵינִי דָן (*ha-RE-ni dan*, thus I conclude), לְפִי דַרְכֵּנוּ לְמַדְנוּ (*le-fi dar-KE-nu la-MAD-nu*, in the process of our study we have learned), לְשׁוֹן מְרֻבָּה וּלְשׁוֹן מִעֵט (*le-SHON me-ru-BEH ul-SHON mu-'AT*, all-inclusive and non-inclusive language), דָּבָר הַלָּמֵד מֵעִנְיָנוֹ (*da-VAR ha-la-MED me-'in-ya-NO*, a matter learned from its context), תַּלְמוֹד לוֹמַר (*tal-MUD lo-MAR*, learn the thing from what is written, i.e., the answer to your question is found in the words of Scripture). See the discussion and list of homiletical terms used by Tannaim and Amoraim in W. Bachen, *Die Älteste Terminologie der Jüdischen Schriftauslegung*
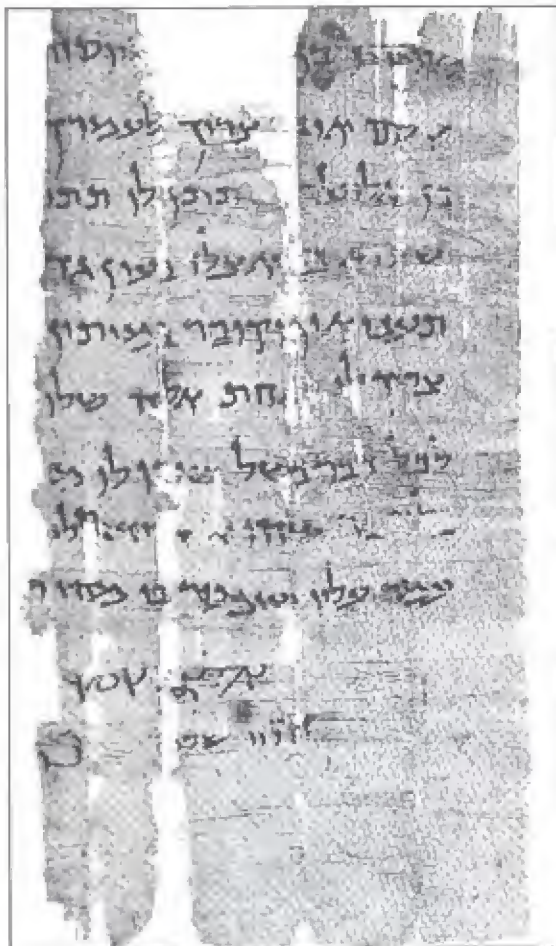
A Hebrew letter discovered in the Murabba'at Canyon caves north of Ein Gedi. Beautifully written by a professional scribe, it is signed in cursive script by Yehonatan, Bar Kochva's commander at Ein Gedi.
(Courtesy of the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum.)

(Leipzig, 1899); *idem, Die Exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* (Leipzig, 1905), I–II.

7. Two examples from amoraic literature in which the context is Aramaic, but the halachah and midrash are Hebrew: a) Genesis Rabbah 7:1–2 (ed. Albeck, pp. 50–52) and its parallels relate two stries regarding the teachings of Ya'akov of Kefar Niburaia in Tyre. The sage apparently was close to the Judeo-Christians. His halachic teachings in Tyre were not in accordance with normative halachah. The story is written for the most part in Aramaic, but the halachah and midrash in it are in Hebrew. b) In JT Shabbat 7d there is a discussion about teaching girls Greek. The story is in Aramaic, but the halachic reference is in Hebrew.

8. See M Eruvin 3:9.

9. See the prayer of Rabbi Nehuniah ben ha-Kanah in M Berachot 4:2. See also the many prayers listed in JT Berachot 7d and BT Berachot 16b–17b.

10. For example BT Sotah 22a.

11. The very few words in rabbinic prayers which appear to be Greek or Aramaic are actually Hebrew or do not belong to the original text. BT Yoma 53b relates part of the High Priest's prayer on the Day of Atonement as being in Aramaic: "May there not depart a ruler from the house of Judah." This apparently was not part of the High Priest's prayer. It is only one of the versions and does not appear in the parallel in JT Yoma 42c. In reality, this Aramaic prayer has been taken from Targum Onkelos on Genesis 49:10 and certainly does not reflect the reality of the end of the Second Temple period. Late prayers from the geonic period do have Aramaic words and some, like the *kaddish*, a prayer recited as part of the daily synagogue liturgy and by mourners at public services after the death of a close relative, were even written in Aramaic. The *piyutim*, late poetry of the sixth–seventh centuries C.E. ff. which expand and embellish the prayers, contain some Greek words.

12. BT Shabbat 12b; BT Sotah 33a.

13. One such attempt is found in Gustaf Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1930).

14. See BT Bava Kamma 60b or BT Sotah 40a.

15. For example Leviticus Rabbah 3:1 (ed. Margulies, pp. 56–57). Such proverbs are often prefaced with דאמרי אינשי ("as people are accustomed to say") or במתלא אמרין ("in a proverb they state").

16. II Maccabees 1:1, 7, 10; Acts 28:21; BT Sanhedrin 12a.

17. For example: "And the men of Jerusalem used to write: 'From great Jerusalem to small Alexandria'" (JT Hagigah 77d).

18. First published by A.E. Cowley, *JEA*, 2 (1915), 209–213. See also *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, ed. V.A. Tcherikover (Cambridge, MA, 1957), I, pp. 101–102.

19. M Ketubot 4:4; Semahot 14:7. See *The Jewish People in the First Century*, eds. S. Safrai and M. Stern (Assen-Amsterdam, 1976), II, pp. 773–776.

20. BT Sanhedrin 11a; Semahot 8:7; BT Sanhedrin 68a.

21. See E. Feldman, "The Rabbinic Lament," *JQR*, 63 (1972–3), 51–75.

22. BT Moed Katan 25b; BT Avodah Zarah 34b; JT Moed Katan 81c; BT Ketubot 104a, *et al.*

23. For example BT Ketubot 77b.

24. T (= Tosefta) Sotah 13:5 and parallels; cf. *Antiquities* 13:282. See S. Safrai, "Zechariah's Prestigious Task," *JP*, 2.6 (1989), 1, 4.

25. T Sotah 13:6. The utterance that the priest heard was, "Abolished is the abomination that the hater wished to bring into the sanctuary."

26. BT Sotah 48b; BT Sanhedrin 11a.

27. Even in later rabbinic sources, however, a number of heavenly voices were recorded in Aramaic (JT Peah 15d; BT Bava Batra 3b, *et al.*).

28. M Gittin 9:3. See the bill of divorce that was discovered at Murabba'at and published in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, eds. P. Benoit, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux (Oxford, 1961), II, pp. 104–109.

29. M Ketubot 4:7–12; T Ketubot 4:2.

30. The fragments of Ben Sira found at Masada were written in the first century B.C.E. See Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965), especially note 11 in Yadin's introduction. All of the Hebrew fragments from the Cairo Genizah were published in ספר בן־סירא השלם, ed. M.Z. Segal (Jerusalem, 1958).

31. See Segal's introduction, pp. 37–38.

32. *A Genesis Apocryphon*, eds. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin (Jerusalem, 1956).

33. This is the view of C. Rabin. See his "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, op. cit., p. 1036.

34. For a survey of the linguistic picture in first-century Israel, see C. Rabin, op. cit., pp. 1007–1039. See also H. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus* (Oslo, 1954). Still beneficial is the extended introduction (המבוא הגדול, Prolegomenon) of Eliezer Ben Yehuda to his 17-volume Hebrew dictionary, מלון הלשון העברית [English title: *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew*] (Jerusalem, 1910–1959). For more modern studies, see Y.E. Kutscher, "The Language of the Sages," *H. Yalon Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1963), pp. 246–280 (= קובץ מאמרים בלשון חול, ed. M. Bar-Asher [Jerusalem, 1972], pp. 1–35.) See also M.H. Segal, "Mishnaic Hebrew and Its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and to Aramaic," *JQR*, O.S. 20 (1908), 647–737; and the introduction to Segal's book, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 1–20.

aggadah (also **haggadah**) – the ethical sayings and scriptural exposition of the sages, in contrast to their halachic statements; the nonlegal part of rabbinic literature in contrast to halachah. **aggadic** (ɔ·gäd′ik) – pertaining to aggadah.

amoraic – pertaining to the Amoraim (אֲמוֹרָאִים, ʾa·mo·ra·ʾIM), the sages of the talmudic period, as distinguished from the earlier Tannaim (תַּנָּאִים, ta·na·ʾIM), the sages of the mishnaic period. Roughly speaking, the Tannaim are the sages quoted in the Mishnah and contemporary rabbinic works, while the Amoraim are the sages mentioned in the Talmud.

Apocrypha – books included in the Septuagint and Vulgate, but excluded from the Hebrew Bible and Protestant canon. The Apocrypha contains I & II Esdras, Tobit, Judith, additions to Esther, The Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (= Ben Sira), Baruch, The Letter of Jeremiah, The Prayer of Azariah and The Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasseh and I and II Maccabees.

Aramaic (ar·ɔ·mä′ik) – a northwest Semitic language closely related to Hebrew. The earliest Aramaic inscriptions date from the 10th–9th centuries B.C. Its square script replaced the Hebrew archaic script, and by the time of Jesus was the normal script for writing in Hebrew.

bat kol – literally "daughter of a voice," i.e., a heavenly or supernatural voice which reveals the will of God.

genizah – (גְּנִיזָה, ge·ni·ZAH, storing) a place for storing damaged or worn out books or ritual objects containing the name of God. According to halachah, such objects could not be destroyed, but were hidden so that they would not be defiled. When the *genizah* could hold no more, its contents were buried in the cemetery. The *genizah* was usually a room attached to the synagogue. The most famous of these is the Cairo Genizah, discovered in 1896 in the attic of the Ezra Synagogue in Fostat (Old Cairo), where most of the lost Hebrew book of Ben Sira was discovered.

geonic (gɔ·ōn′ik) – pertaining to the Geonim (גְּאוֹנִים, ge·ʾo·NIM [singular, Gaon]), heads of the talmudic academies in Babylonia from the 7th to 11th centuries A.D.

halachah – (הֲלָכָה, ha·la·KAH; plural: הֲלָכוֹת, ha·la·KOT) law, regulation; the legal ruling on a particular issue; the body of Jewish law, especially the legal part of rabbinic literature, thus often the opposite of aggadah. **halachic** (hä·läk′ik) – pertaining to halachah.

Hasmoneans – a family of Jewish priests who led a successful revolt, which began in 168 B.C., against the Hellenized Selucid rulers of Syria. The Hasmoneans, nicknamed the Maccabees (mak′ɔ·bēz), ruled the land of Israel from 142 to 63 B.C.

Megillat Ta'anit – (מְגִלַּת תַּעֲנִית, me·gi·LAT ta·ʿa·NIT, scroll of fasting) a composition which includes a list in Aramaic of thirty-five Second Temple period holidays during which public fasting was prohibited (on fourteen of these days public mourning also was forbidden), and commentary in Hebrew. The list, which includes reasons for the prohibitions, was compiled sometime before the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. The commentary portion of the work was added not earlier than the seventh century A.D.

midrash – (מִדְרָשׁ, mid·RASH) literally an inquiry or investigation, but as a technical term it refers to an exposition of biblical text. The term also can be applied to a collection of such expositions or, capitalized, to the whole midrashic literature written during the first millennium A.D.

Mishnah – (מִשְׁנָה, mish·NAH ["repetition," from *shanah*, to repeat]) the collection of Oral Torah compiled around 200 A.D. by Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi. It records the sayings of sages who lived and taught during the previous several hundred years. The Mishnah primarily reflects spoken rather than written language.

Mishnaic Hebrew – the Hebrew spoken in the land of Israel during the first centuries B.C./A.D., used loosely to refer to post-biblical Hebrew. Since this dialect is the language of the rabbinic works composed during this period, it also is referred to as "rabbinic Hebrew."

Pseudepigrapha (súd·i·pig′rɔ·fɔ, literally means falsely written) – a title for various pseudonymous or anonymous Jewish writings of the third century B.C. to the second century A.D. not found in the Hebrew Bible or Apocrypha. James H. Charlesworth's recently published collection, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vol. (Doubleday, 1983–1985), includes fifty-two documents. Some of the most important of these for Gospel studies are Enoch, Jubilees and The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, portions of all of which have been found in Hebrew or Aramaic at Qumran.

Talmud – (תַּלְמוּד, tal·MUD ["instruction," from *lamad*, to study]) a collection of Jewish halachah and aggadah comprising the Mishnah and the Gemara. The Gemara, commentary on the Mishnah, is printed section by section following each verse of the Mishnah. "Gemara" can be used in its narrow sense, the commentary on the Mishnah found in the Talmud, or in its wider sense as a synonym for "Talmud." There are two Talmuds: the Jerusalem (or Palestinian) Talmud was completed about the end of the fourth century A.D.; the Babylonian Talmud, which became authoritative, was completed about a century later.

tannaic (tɔ·nä′ik) – pertaining to the Tannaim (תַּנָּאִים, ta·na·ʾIM [singular – Tanna), sages from the time of Hillel (first century B.C.) to those of the generation after Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi (c. 230 A.D.).

The Divine Name in the Hebrew New Testament

by Ray Pritz

Ray Pritz is head of the Bible Society in Israel.

God has a personal name: יהוה (*YHVH*). Like Semitic names in general, it was intended to reflect something of the bearer's character. יהוה is related to the root הוה (*HVH*, "to be"), and reflects God's eternity and timelessness.

The name of the God of Israel contained power and was used with reverence. The third commandment said it was not to be "taken in vain," which meant that people were not to swear falsely by God's name. However, this commandment came to be interpreted in its narrowest sense, and somewhere between the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C. and the third century A.D., people stopped using the name at all when speaking.

When the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek in the third century B.C., the tetragrammaton was often substituted by the Greek word κύριος (*kyrios*), which means "Lord." This causes a slight complication when we read, because there is already a word for Lord in Hebrew, which is sometimes applied to God either in its singular form, אָדוֹן (*ʾa-DON*), or as a plural with first person singular pronominal suffix, אֲדֹנָי (*ʾa-do-NAI, adonai*; LORD, literally, "my lords").[1] Thus it is not always possible in the Septuagint to tell whether the original underlying Hebrew referring to God was the tetragrammaton, *adonai*, or some other word.

Greek to Hebrew

This problem does not exist when translating the New Testament into most languages: translators just use the word for lord. However, in the Hebrew translation of the New Testament it was necessary to decide at each appearance of *kyrios* whether to render *adonai* or יהוה or something else. In the case of quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures the decision is simple enough. In a passage such as Matthew 22:44, the mod-ern Hebrew New Testament returns to the original of Psalm 110:1 and reads, נְאֻם יהוה לַאדֹנִי [*ne-ʾUM YHVH* (by tradition read as *ʾa-do-NAI*) *la-ʾa-do-NI*]," where English translations have rendered, "The Lord [or LORD] said to my Lord."

Notice in the above example that Matthew is quoting words which Jesus spoke to an audience. Would Jesus or anyone else in the New Testament have actually pronounced the Divine Name? The answer must be no. However, the translators felt justified in leaving the original wording of the Psalm, even though Jesus would have **spoken** the words "*ne-ʾUM ʾa-do-NAI la-ʾa-do-NI*," substituting *ʾa-do-NAI* for the tetragrammaton. In this case they were copying from the original Psalm rather than quoting the actual words which came out of Jesus' mouth.[2]

Other instances where God is spoken of in direct speech are in the words of Elizabeth, Mary and Zechariah in Luke 1:28, 46, 68. In all of these cases the first edition of the modern Hebrew New Testament used יהוה to translate *kyrios*, although the three speakers would have **said** *adonai*, as will the modern reader.

Hebrew to Greek

The Septuagint translators, who tended to be fairly literal in their translating, had been faced with the converse problem: how could they distinguish between אֲדֹנָי (*ʾa-do-NAI*) and יהוה (*YHVH*) in their Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible? The solution they generally seem to have settled on was to render *ʾa-do-NAI* as *ho kyrios* (the Lord), and *YHVH* as simply *kyrios* without the definite article. This was done without distinction as to whether the passage was direct speech or narrative. The Septuagint was translated over a period of several generations, and this rule was not followed consistently by its various translators.

It is interesting to note that the Greek of the New Testament also has both forms,

kyrios and *ho kyrios*, sometimes even coming side by side (e.g., Lk. 1:9, 11; 1:25, 28, 32; 1:45, 46). To make things more complicated, the form of *kyrios* without the definite article is occasionally used of Jesus, as in Luke 2:11 ("...is born [a] savior, who is Messiah, [the] Lord").[3]

Modern Hebrew Translations

The first edition of the United Bible Societies' Hebrew New Testament, with a few exceptions, had used the Septuagint practice as a guideline by rendering *ho kyrios* as אֲדֹנָי (*'a·do·NAI*), and *kyrios* without the definite article as יהוה (*YHVH*). However some members of the editorial committee called this into question. First of all, the distinction would not be clear to modern readers to whom it might seem strange to find the tetragrammaton being used in direct speech. Secondly, modern Israeli readers will say *adonai* when they encounter יהוה in the text.

To aid in making the decision, we asked a number of Israelis with a good academic command of Hebrew whether the translation should maintain יהוה or substitute instead an abbreviation such as ה׳ or ״, both of which are common in Hebrew literature and are read as *adonai* or *ha-shem*, "the name." Opinions were divided, although most were in favor of maintaining יהוה except in direct speech. Some of these argued that to use ה׳ or ״ would give the impression that the New Testament is just another secular book with less sanctity than the Hebrew Bible.

Those who argued against using יהוה said that it has simply never been done in texts other than the Hebrew Bible, from ancient times until today. Additionally, they said, more Israelis would be likely to read the New Testament if it did not contain the divine name. The first of these objections is contrary to the evidence: the divine name is found in non-biblical material in the Dead Sea Scrolls and especially in the Temple Scroll. The second objection is not at all certain. Those Israelis who are interested in reading the New Testament probably will not be put off by the appearance of the tetragrammaton. Those who refuse to read the New Testament do so because of objections to Jesus and Paul and the history of "Christian" treatment of Jews; changing יהוה to ה׳ or ״ will make no difference to them.
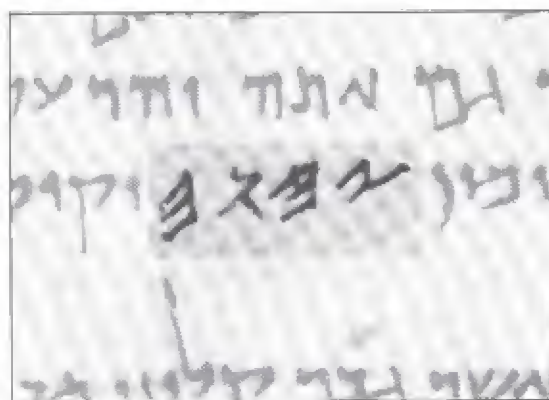
It was decided to abandon the Septuagint's solution and treat each case on its own merits. Each one of the more than 300 occurrences of *kyrios* in the New Testament had to be checked in its context. Where direct speech was involved, it could be translated by הָאָדוֹן (*ha·'a·DON*, the Lord), אֲדֹנָי (*'a·do·NAI*), or even אֱלֹהִים (*'e·lo·HIM*, God), as the Septuagint translators themselves had sometimes done (in the reverse direction, of course). The one exception to this is where the speaker is quoting a verse from the Hebrew Bible which includes the tetragrammaton. In these cases, as in the example from Matthew 22:44 cited above, the original יהוה has been maintained. In narrative sections יהוה has been left in the translation in almost every case. Some of the cases in the Gospels are in fact stock phrases in which the divine name of God is normal. Among these are מַלְאַךְ יהוה (*mal·'AK YHVH*, the angel of the LORD), יוֹם יהוה (*yom YHVH*, the day of the LORD), יַד יהוה (*yad YHVH*, the hand of the LORD), and כְּבוֹד יהוה (*ke·VOD YHVH*, the glory of the LORD). Here the Hebrew New Testament has preserved the familiar phrase.

The letters of the tetragrammaton, written in archaic Hebrew script, enlarged from the Pesher Habakkuk scroll.
(Courtesy of the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum)

Difficult Decisions

In some places it needs a decision bordering on the theological to determine how to translate *kyrios*. What should be done, for example, in a situation like Luke 19:31, 34: "You shall say 'The Lord needs it.'"? Was the owner to understand that the Lord needed the colt or that the LORD needed it? In the modern Hebrew translation it would be possible to render *kyrios* as either הָאָדוֹן (*ha·'a·DON*, the Lord) or as אֲדֹנָי (*'a·do·NAI*, the LORD). English translations generally do not have to make such a decision because they use the distinctive LORD only in the Hebrew Scriptures. The modern Hebrew translators decided to use *ha·'a·DON*, leaving open the interpretation that Jesus, the disciples' master, needed the colt. Translation sometimes unavoidably involves interpretation, and in this case the interpretation could have gone either way.

Or, to take a similar example. how are we to understand the words of Jesus in Mark 5:19: "Go home to your family and tell them what *ho kyrios* has done for you"? The first Hebrew New Testament

edition used יהוה, but it need not have been so unequivocal since Jesus would not have pronounced the divine name. It is clear that Jesus **said** either *'a·do·NAI* or *ha·'a·DON*. To render *kyrios* here as *'a·do·NAI* would lose the ambiguity. It is better to stay with *ha·'a·DON*, which could have been understood by the newly-healed demoniac (as well as by today's readers) to refer either to the LORD or to Jesus. Judging from verse 20, the ex-demoniac may have understood the latter, because he went out to proclaim in the Decapolis "how much Jesus had done for him."

As a general rule it was decided that the modern Hebrew New Testament would stay with אָדוֹן (*'a·DON*, Lord) or אֲדֹנָי (*'a·do·NAI*, LORD) for *kyrios* rather than use the tetragrammaton, יהוה. The exceptions to this are those quotations from the Hebrew Bible in which יהוה appears in the original. Other minor exceptions also can be found in

places where the context seemed to demand using יהוה (for example, Rev. 19:6). **JP**

1. The plural of אָדוֹן (*'a·DON*) is אֲדֹנִים (*'a·do·NIM*). The regular plural with first person singular pronominal suffix is אֲדֹנַי (*'a·do·NAI*, my lords). In the Masoretic text, when God is intended and not "my lords," the word is pointed אֲדֹנָי (one exception of 425 occurrences, אֲדֹנָי in Judges 13:8).

2. The Greek text of Matthew here uses the word *kyrios* twice. The Septuagint used the word *kyrios* to translate thirteen different Hebrew words. Therefore, when translating back into Hebrew we can choose which of those words is more appropriate to the context and situation. If יהוה is used, the modern Israeli reader will still **say** "*adonai.*" Today, as in the time of Jesus, it is permitted when copying Scripture to write the tetragrammaton even though one does not pronounce it.

3. Two seventh-century Latin manuscripts of the New Testament (β and r¹) change "Lord" in Luke 2:11 into the genitive, that is, "...who is Messiah of [the] Lord," a more Hebraic expression (i.e., מְשִׁיחַ יהוה [*me·SHI·ah YHVH*]).

Readers' Perspective

saying of Antigonus of Socho (second century B.C.) in Avot 1:3: "Do not be like slaves that serve their master [*rav*] in order to receive a reward; rather be like slaves that do not serve their master [*rav*] in order to receive a reward."

In Jesus' opinion, these terms should be reserved for God alone. God is **the** *Rav* and **the** *Abba*, and no one else can have these titles. In the synoptic Gospels, Jesus' disciples never address him as "Rabbi" and Jesus never addresses anyone or even refers to anyone as "Father" except God.

– D.B.

Strong's Analytical Concordance *shows that the word "Christ" appears 570 times in the New Testament. Why can't this transliterated word be given its translated form, "Messiah," in our Bibles instead of the transliteration? Since most English-speaking people are not thinkers in Greek, wouldn't it help to better communicate Jesus' role and mission with the use of "Messiah?" What is read is what is said, what is said is what is thought, what is thought is what is emphasized. In order to change the emphasis, the word that is written needs to be changed from "Christ" to "Messiah."*

– E. V. May, Jr., Livingston, Texas, U.S.A.

I wholly agree with you. Partly because I live in a Hebrew-speaking environment, I find the use of "Christ" somewhat irritating, especially when it is used as if it were a proper name — "Jesus Christ." I think "Messiah" more accurately conveys in English what the Greek authors of the New Testament meant to convey with the Greek "*christos.*"

As I pointed out in "Hebrew Nuggets — Messiah" (*JP*, May/June 1990, p. 6): "Messiah is another of the many Hebrew words that have entered the English language. It is an anglicization of the Latin *messias*, which is a transliteration of the Greek μεσσίας (*messias*), a transcription of the Aramaic מְשִׁיחָא (*me·shi·HA'*), which is a translation and shortening of the Hebrew [הַמֶּלֶךְ] הַמָּשִׁיחַ ([*ha·ME·lek*] *ha·ma·SHI·ah*), 'the [King] Messiah.'

"The word *ma·SHI·ah* means 'anointed with oil' and appears thirty-nine times in the Hebrew Scriptures. In one instance it refers to a shield 'anointed' or 'rubbed with oil' (II Sam. 1:21). Everywhere else, *ma·SHI·ah* refers to a king or priest (I Sam. 24:6; Is. 45:1), or to the one chosen for such an office (II Sam. 16:6). Anointing with oil was an act of consecration or dedication, and kings and priests were appointed by being anointed with oil (I Sam. 16:13)."

And in "Hebrew Nuggets — Messianic Claims" (*JP*, July/August 1990, p. 11): "In the New Testament, *ma·SHI·ah* almost always appears in its Greek translation — χριστός (*christos*, Christ). The Greek transliteration, μεσσίας (*messias*), appears only twice, in John 1:41 and 4:25.

"Many Christians seem to think that 'Christ' was Jesus' surname, while non-Christians often use it as a swear word. "Christ" is an English transliteration of a Greek translation of an original Hebrew word — a good example of the influence of Greek language and culture on our culture. It also is an example of the Church's loss of its Hebraic and Jewish roots."

– D.B.

'And' or 'But' – So What?

Dr. Buth continues his series of articles for the מְתֻרְגְּמָן (*me·tur·ge·MAN*, translator) of the Gospels, showing how a knowledge of their Semitic background can enhance the translation process.
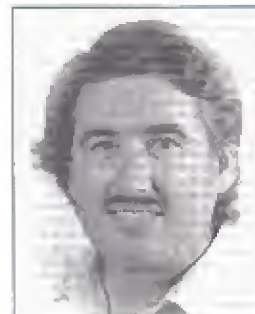
by Randall Buth

In an earlier article ("Matthew's Aramaic Glue," *JP*, September/October, 1990) we discussed the importance of words that hold a text together, focusing particularly on the Greek word τότε (*tote*, then, at that time). Here we examine two more linking particles: καί (*kai*, and) and δέ (*de*, and; but). These two Greek words affect translation, they affect our perception of a story, and they have some peculiarities that provide part of the data for understanding the background of the Gospels and the synoptic problem.

Many students ask how a Greek word like *de* can mean both "and" and "but." *De* is also sometimes translated into English by "on the other hand," "moreover," "then," "so," "however," or by nothing at all. Actually its true meaning is not expressed by English equivalents. In order to understand *de*, the student must see how it functions within Greek constructions, and how it differs from *kai*.

Continuity and Change

In this article we are interested in the comparison between *de* and *kai* as sentence-level conjunctions, linking sentences to a larger context. *De* always links sentences and clauses to their larger context. *Kai* sometimes links sentences to the larger context, but sometimes only joins words or phrases together or functions as the adverb "even." It is the sentence-level *kai*s that will be discussed.

When a Greek author wants to imply some kind of continuity with the context, he uses *kai*. The continuity may mean that the sentence continues with the same situation as the previous sentence, or with the same subject matter. Very frequently the same subject or participant is involved.

A Greek author uses *de* when he wants to signal that something has changed, that something is different with the following sentence. Sometimes the different situation corresponds to what would be a new paragraph or even a new episode. However, very often *de* is used within paragraph-like units, in which case the difference may refer to a sentence beginning to describe background material to the main events of the paragraph. *De* also marks the change or difference when the author leaves the background description and returns to the main events of the story.

Within a dialogue, *de* will frequently signal that a different person is speaking, so that the author does not need to repeat the speaker's name in order to avoid ambiguity. When an author is comparing and contrasting two ideas or events, *de* will introduce the second part in the same way as the English words "but" and "however."

Most significant of all, though, is when an author uses *de* for main events of a paragraph or episode with the same continuing participants and the same location or time sequence. The change at such a point is an incremental development of the story.[1] This is significant for translators and readers because *de* marks where the original author felt that a thematic shift in the story had taken place.

Importance for Translators

A good example of the usefulness of watching *de* comes from Luke 24:13–43.[2] The *de*s occur at 24:16, 17, 18, 19b, [21, 24—within the disciples' speech], 31, 36, 37, and 41. Also, notice the use of *kai* at 24:19, 25, 28, 29a, 29b and 30, where *de* might

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have been expected with a shift to Jesus' actions. Luke is marking the thematic shifts in a way that shows he was concerned with telling how the disciples started out as unbelievers and became believers. Even though this is part of the resurrection story of Jesus, it is not the appearances of Jesus that Luke marks as developing the theme, but the change of heart in the disciples from doubt and fear to faith.

The *de* marking in Luke 24:13–43 is important for translators in two respects. First, knowing how Luke grouped the events of his story can help translators choose the appropriate connections and words for the target audience. They need to be thinking and feeling like Luke as they translate. Secondly, it can affect the kind of heading that one may give to the story in published Bibles. In Luke 24:13–35 it would not be Lukan to have a title "Jesus Appears to Two Disciples," or "More Proof that Jesus Has Risen." More to the point would be "Two Disciples Recognize Jesus."

A Semitic Perspective

There are some peculiarities in the frequency of use of *de* and *kai* in Greek. Writings that were originally composed in Greek tend to have a higher ratio of *de* to *kai* than writings that have been influenced by a Semitic language. (See the statistics for sentence-level conjunctions in the box below.[3])

Some translators of the Septuagint clearly show a strong aversion to using *de*. An explanation comes from comparing the Greek and Hebrew languages. Hebrew only has one word for "and," ־ו (*ve-*), which joins words, phrases and sentences. Since the Greek word for "and" that can also function at these different levels is *kai*, many Jewish writers preferred to use *kai* rather than *de*.

Even a sensitive writer such as the translator of Genesis used *kai* more frequently than someone writing an original composition in Greek. It seems that the Genesis translator would use *kai* as his "normal" word and then, whenever his feelings were strong enough to overcome the association of Greek *kai* to Hebrew *ve-*, he would put *de* into his translation.

The Gospel writers tended to use *de* less frequently than secular Greek writers. Thus, their style is not polished, natural Greek. (See the statistics that R. A. Martin has compiled, listed under "New Testament Sections" in the box below.)

The Case with Luke

The author of Luke–Acts has a particularly interesting variation in ratios. In sections of Acts that are least likely influenced by Semitic sources, his *de* to *kai* ratio is like that of secular Greek writers. But in many sections of his Gospel he shows an aversion to *de* that is not like natural Greek. Scholars are divided over the significance of this for Luke. Some scholars have suggested that Luke varied his style according to subject matter and wrote a more natural Greek in the second half of Acts while describing the Gentile mission, but a more "Hebraic" Greek when recounting events in the land of Israel. However, it is more likely that the low ratio of *de* to *kai* in the Gospel reflects Luke's use of sources. More than one source with different *de* to *kai* ratios would help explain the varied ratios in the Gospel.

One should not conclude from the above that the Gospel of Luke is a direct translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. Luke certainly wrote in Greek, which is clear from the style of his introduction (Luke 1:1–4) and the last half of Acts.[6] But some of his

Sentence-Level Conjunctions

Greek author	Ratio of *de* to *kai*	New Testament Sections	Ratio of *de* to *kai*
Plutarch (1st cent. A.D.)	1 : 0.24	Acts ("we" sections[4])	1 : 0.5
Josephus (1st cent. A.D.)	1 : 0.3	Acts 17–19	1 : 0.6
Philostratus (3rd cent. A.D.)	1 : 0.4	I Corinthians	1 : 0.6
Epictetus (1st cent. A.D.)	1 : 0.6	Acts 1–15	1 : 1.0
Papyri selections (2nd cent. B.C.– 2nd cent. A.D.)	1 : 0.9	Luke (parallel to Mk. 8:4–9:50)	1 : 1.2
		Luke (unique sections)	1 : 1.4
Greek Septuagint translations from Hebrew		Matthew	1 : 1.5
Genesis	1 : 2.4	Lukan "Q"[5]	1 : 1.9
Minor Prophets	1 : 26	Mark	1 : 5
Ezekiel	1 : 63	Luke 1:5–2:52	1 : 5
Judges (Alexandrian text)	1 : 93	Revelation 4–21	1 : 73

sources were evidently written in a very Hebraic Greek, and they probably had been translated from Hebrew documents. This would also hold true for theories in which Mark was the first Gospel. The transfer from Hebrew sources to Greek would merely be pushed farther into the background for Luke — in other words, Luke was using Mark who was using Greek sources translated from Hebrew.

Robert Lindsey has made particular use of the *de* to *kai* ratios in analyzing Luke. He feels that stories with very high frequencies of *kai* come from a different stage in the transmission of the sources than those stories with lower *kai* frequencies. He has been able to use this criterion in reconstructing those stories which may have originally belonged together in a particular source. This is an area of continuing research, particularly now that linguistic tools and descriptions allow us to analyze subtle differences in the functions of *de* beyond simply counting frequencies.

So—Where To?

Translators need to pay attention to all the *de*s that have found their way into Gospel texts. The fact that there are fewer *de*s in the Gospels than would be normal in a natural Greek style makes them even more significant. They had to swim upstream to get there, and they are more "marked" than a common Greek *de*.

De in the Gospels helps reveal how the author has shaped his material by marking points of change in the flow of the story. However, one should not press that lack of a *de* too far. For example, obvious beginnings of new sections and paragraphs with *kai* may simply reflect a Semitic *kai*.[7]

Within the group of scholars associated with the Jerusalem School, study continues on the question of the consistency of *de* to *kai* ratios in the Gospel sources and their significance. The promise is more light on Gospel origins. Stay tuned. **JP**

1. See Stephen Levinsohn, *Textual Connections in Acts* (Scholars Press, 1987), who first emphasized the "developmental" aspect of *de* marking.

2. I want to thank Dr. Levinsohn for pointing out this example to me.

3. Collected by Raymond A. Martin, *Syntactic Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents* (Scholars Press, 1974). "Sentence-level conjunctions" are conjunctions that join clauses or higher units in contrast to simple conjunctions that join nouns or prepositional phrases.

4. Acts 16:9–18; 20:4–16; 21:1–18; 27:1–28.

5. Unique common Matthean–Lukan material,

Transliteration Key

Hebrew & Aramaic
Consonants
א — ʾ (silent)
ב — b
ב — v
ג — g
ד — d
ה — h (or silent)
ו — v
ז — z
ח — h (voiceless guttural)
ט — t
י — y (or silent)
כ — k
כ ך* — k (like ch in the Scottish *loch*)
ל — l
מ ם* — m
נ ן* — n
ס — s
ע — ʿ (voiced guttural)

פ — p
פ ף* — f
צ ץ* — ts (like ts in nets)
ק — k
ר — r
ש — sh
ש — s
ת — t

*The form of the letter at the end of a word.

Vowels
(The א is used here as a point of reference.)
א — a (like a in father; rarely like a in bone)
א, א — a (like a in father)
א — e (like e in net, or e in hey, or somewhere in between)

א, א — e (like e in net)
א, א — i (like i in ski)
א, א, א — o (like o in bone)
א, א — u (like u in flu)
א — e (silent, or as short as e in happening, or as long as e in net)

Diphthongs
אי — ai
אי — oi
אי — ui

Greek
Greek words are transliterated according to the Society of Biblical Literature system.

i.e., Double Tradition material. In fact, Martin's statistics may blur more distinctly Semitic sources with different layers of Greek editing. Dr. Lindsey has pointed out that there are two different kinds of material in Luke as a result of his copying from two different sources, one source exhibiting more Semitic influence. The same can be said for the *de* to *kai* ratios in Matthew and in the unique Lukan sections.

6. The verbal identity in some Matthean–Lukan double tradition pericopae also confirms that Luke's Gospel was written in Greek. Matthew and Luke probably did not know each other's Gospel, therefore the high Greek similarity comes from using the same source. If they independently translated a Semitic text, they would not have chosen so many identical words and constructions.

7. See my "Some Notes on Sentence Level *kai* in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*," *Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation* 3:19–21 (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1981).

International Synoptic Society

The International Synoptic Society supports the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research by serving as a vehicle through which interested individuals can participate in the School's research.

The Society raises financial support for publication of the Jerusalem School's research, such as the *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary*; facilitates informal discussion groups focusing on the synoptic Gospels; sponsors student research assistants and other volunteers who work with the Jerusalem School.

Annual membership in the Society is: Regular £50–150 or US$100–$300; Fellow £150–250/$300–$500; Sponsor £250–500/$500–$1000; Patron £500–2500/ $1000–$5000; Lifetime membership £2500/$5000 and over. Membership dues can be paid in monthly or quarterly installments, and in most currencies (see box at bottom of page 2).

Members of the Society are entitled to unique privileges such as pre-publication releases of *Commentary* materials and free subscription to JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. They also receive a beautiful certificate of membership, and three times each year a Hebrew reconstruction and English translation of one of the stories in the conjectured biography of Jesus. Major publications of the Jerusalem School will be inscribed with Society members' names.

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Synoptic Discussion Groups

Individuals who are interested in the continuing research of the Jerusalem School may augment their studies by participating in a synoptic discussion group coordinated by the Society.

These groups meet regularly to exchange views on current research presented in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. In addition, a group may decide to learn Hebrew together, share study resources or pursue its own Gospel investigations.

Attendance is open to everyone. Since the discussion groups are not formally linked to the International Synoptic Society, membership in the Society is not a requirement for attending or leading a group.

This issue's Suggested Discussion Questions can be found on page 15.

The Jerusalem School

The Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research (מכון ירושלים לחקר האוונגליונים הסינופטיים) is a consortium of Jewish and Christian scholars who are examining the synoptic Gospels within the context of the language and culture in which Jesus lived. Their work confirms that Jesus was a Jewish sage who taught in Hebrew and used uniquely rabbinic teaching methods.

The Jerusalem School scholars believe the first narrative of Jesus' life was written in Hebrew, and that it can be successfully recovered from the Greek texts of the synoptic Gospels. The School's central objective is to retrieve the original biography of Jesus. This is an attempt to recover a lost document from the Second Temple period, a Hebrew scroll which, like so much Jewish literature of the period, has been preserved only in Greek.

As a means to its objective, the Jerusalem School is creating a detailed commentary on the synoptic Gospels which will reflect the renewed insight provided by the School's research. Current research of Jerusalem School members and others is presented in the pages of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

The Jerusalem School was registered in Israel as a non-profit research institute in 1985. Its members are Prof. David Flusser, Dr. Robert L. Lindsey, Prof. Shmuel Safrai, David Bivin, Dr. Randall J. Buth, R. Steven Notley, Dwight A. Pryor, Halvor Ronning, Mirja Ronning, Chana Safrai and Dr. Bradford H. Young.